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2596th MEETING: 20 JUNE 1985

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NOTE

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2596th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 20 June 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Errol MAHABIR (Trinidad and Tobago).

then: Mr. D. H. N. ALLEYNE (Trinidad and Tobago).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2596/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 13 June 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17267)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 13 June 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17267)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Argentina, the Bahamas, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Liberia, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa, the Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem (Angola), took a place at the Council table; Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Schlegel (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Kofa (Liberia), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Branco (Sao Tome and Principe), Mr. von Schirnding (South

Africa), Mr. Birido (Sudan), Mr. Founm (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 13 June 1985 from the representative of Angola to the President of the Security Council [S/17267]. Members of the Council have before them document S/17286, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago.

3. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/17263, which contains the text of a letter dated 12 June 1985 from the representative of Angola to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is my distinguished brother the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Mr. Afonso Van Dunem. I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

5. Mr. VAN DUNEM (Angola): This is the second time within a few days that my delegation has spoken in the Council on a matter that concerns regional peace and security and threatens international peace and security.

6. The records of the Council are swollen because of the countless times the People's Republic of Angola has brought before it the anguish and suffering of the Angolan people caused by the racist *apartheid* régime of Pretoria, the death and destruction wrought by the racist troops, the numerous attempts at destabilization of the legitimate Government of Angola by the minority non-representative régime in Pretoria, the constant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. To this day, despite all efforts, neither the United Nations nor its supreme peace-keeping organ, the Security Council, has been able to do anything to stem South Africa's designs, policies and actions, which have caused so much instability in southern Africa. It appears that the Council is as helpless before South Africa's racist and brutal might as the innocent civilians the racist troops persecute and butcher.

7. My Government has brought our case to the Security Council on a number of occasions: in March 1976, when the Council adopted resolution 387 (1976), demanding that South Africa scrupulously respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country and calling upon the racist régime to pay full compensation; in

May 1978, when the Council adopted resolution 428 (1978), repeating that demand and demanding also the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African forces from Angola; in March 1979, when the Council adopted resolution 447 (1979) demanding that South Africa cease immediately its provocative armed invasions against the People's Republic of Angola and that it respect forthwith the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country; in November 1979, when the Council adopted resolution 454 (1979), strongly condemning South Africa's aggression and calling upon the racist Government to cease immediately all acts of aggression and provocation against the People's Republic of Angola and forthwith to withdraw all its armed forces from Angola; in June 1980, when the Council adopted resolution 475 (1980), in which it demanded that the racist régime withdraw forthwith all its military forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, cease all violations of Angola's airspace and henceforth scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, called upon all States to implement fully the arms embargo imposed against South Africa in Council resolution 418 (1977) and decided to meet again in the event of further acts of violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, in order to consider more effective measures in accordance with appropriate provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof.

8. In August 1981, when my Government and the people of Angola made an anguished appeal to the Security Council after a massive invasion of my country and the military occupation of parts of southern Angola, the draft resolution before the Council [S/14664/Rev.2] strongly condemned the racist régime for its premeditated, unprovoked and persistent armed invasion of Angola, declared that the armed invasion was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and constituted a danger to international peace and security, demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all South African troops from Angolan territory, strongly condemned the use of mercenaries by South Africa against the Government and people of Angola, condemned the aggressive campaign and other hostile activities aimed at destabilizing the People's Republic of Angola and called for implementation of the arms embargo imposed in 1977 against South Africa and for full and adequate compensation by South Africa to Angola. That draft resolution was vetoed by a permanent member of the Security Council, although 13 members voted in favour and one other permanent member abstained in the vote.

9. In December 1983, the Council adopted resolution 545 (1983), demanding that South Africa should cease all violations against Angola and henceforth scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

10. Finally, in January 1984, the Council adopted resolution 546 (1984), which strongly condemned South Africa for its renewed, intensified, premeditated and unprovoked bombing, as well as its continuing utilization of the inter-

national Territory of Namibia as a springboard for the perpetrating of armed attacks.

11. Today my delegation is bringing to the Council a case of a threat not merely to civilian Angolan lives but to American lives as well. Who threatened the lives and property of the Americans in Angola? The racist Republic of South Africa. Who saved the lives and property of the Americans in Angola from certain death and destruction? The courageous armed forces of the People's Republic of Angola, FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola). We can therefore conclude that the method used by South Africa to defend Western economic interests is to destroy those same interests by staging acts of sabotage and State terrorism.

12. To recapitulate briefly recent events for the Council, on 21 May 1985 a patrol of FAPLA armed forces caught a South African armed forces special commando group that was ready to launch an attack on one of the oil installations in our Cabinda Gulf Oil compound—I repeat, Gulf Oil—at Malongo, in the province of Cabinda, more than 2,000 kilometres from Namibian territory and even further away from South Africa itself. The code name for this operation was Argon.

13. If the operation had succeeded, the toll would have been dozens dead, some of them American nationals. Damage would have amounted to at least \$1 billion—I repeat, \$1 billion—United States dollars, including a \$216-million reconstruction of the onshore installation. It would have taken over a year to rebuild the Malongo oil installations, and the halt in production would have caused a loss of at least \$770 million, in addition to stock worth \$30 million.

14. The objectives of the aborted Operation Argon were obvious: first, to try to damage the credibility of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola with the governments of the Western countries with which Angola has excellent economic relations, for example, the United States; second, to destabilize Angola's economy and create misery for the Angolan people; third, to give credit for the aggression, as has always been done, to the UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) puppet group, which exists solely because of strategic and operational assistance from South Africa.

15. My delegation wishes to state once again, firmly and categorically, that the South African Government is attempting blatantly to mislead and misinform the international community by pretending that the goal of Operation Argon was to detect bases of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) and the ANC (African National Congress of South Africa). I am sure the members of the Council will agree when my delegation states that probably never before has the Council heard so ridiculous a version of recent, documented, facts as that presented just a few weeks ago by the South African representative on 10 June. I am sorry; allow me to correct myself: I was mistaken. The Council has heard such ludicrous assertions before from various representatives of the South African

régime, both in the Council and outside it, as they desperately and pathetically tried to whitewash their racist deeds and misdeeds. The recent South African Government's murder of civilians in Gaborone is another example of South Africa's lies and machinations. We condemn that massacre and ask the Council to do the same.

16. Furthermore, the South African lies are revealed to be just that by the statements of the commando captured alive, Captain Du Toit, who has revealed all the details of the plan. In addition, the arms seized in the operation explosives, incendiary bombs, land-mines, and so forth—clearly show the inconsistency and the sheer absurdity of South Africa's claimed justification for the attempted sabotage.

17. How can anyone, even South Africa's friends, accept Pretoria's word? The contradiction in the statements of the racist South African leaders is clear evidence of the ignoble lies with which the South African Government intends to mislead world opinion. May we recall that when the Angolan Government announced the neutralization of the racist commando squad in Cabinda, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs started out by denying the facts. A few hours later, General Viljoen, head of the South African General Staff, reportedly soon to retire to devote himself to agriculture, after the aborted aggressive action, and in flagrant contradiction to the declarations of his Minister for Foreign Affairs, claimed that the South African armed forces had a few surveillance groups in the areas north and south of Luanda, with the alleged objective of detecting SWAPO and ANC bases there, and that one of those groups had lost contact with the South African General Staff. At that point, this became the version of the racist Government, which nevertheless continued to acknowledge the presence of the neutralized commando unit in the region of the Malongo oil installations in Cabinda. Three weeks later, on 10 June, in the face of the then admitted presence and neutralization of the said commando unit in Cabinda, the South African representative, to the stupefaction of the Council, gave a new version of the facts according to which a small South African army unit had recently clashed with Angolan military elements. The unit was on a surveillance mission to a supposed ANC training camp, near the well-guarded Malongo oil installations, close to the town of Cabinda.

18. As we can see, the racist South African Government is little by little coming to terms with reality. However, due to its megalomania and complex of racial superiority, the abominable régime is unwilling to bow, even when confronted with the bare facts, which were freely presented by one of its own army officers, the captain taken prisoner by our armed forces, at the press conference held at Luanda for the international media and also attended by the diplomatic corps accredited to Angola.

19. Still worse, this new act of aggression shows the extent of the racist South African Government's bad faith and hypocrisy: some weeks ago, at the very time that an Angolan delegation and a South African delegation were

negotiating the holding of a ministerial level meeting to find genuine solutions towards the re-establishment of peace in southern Africa, the preparation of Operation Argon was in progress, as it had been since January 1985.

20. However, the resumption of destabilizing actions by the Pretoria racist forces did not stop with that attempted sabotage. In the months of March and April, South African Hercules C-130 military transport planes crossed our country eight times, parachuting a total of 80 tons of military equipment destined to its surrogate army, the puppet UNITA group, in Lunda and Malange provinces.

21. The unloading of military equipment in the province of Malange was aimed, on one hand, at frustrating the economic development of the province, where the Angolan Government is in the process of implementing a farming and cattle-raising pilot programme, and, on the other hand, at affecting the coffee production—the third source of foreign exchange for the People's Republic of Angola—in the coffee provinces of Bengo, Cuanza Norte and Uige.

22. Considering that the province of Lunda Norte is essentially a diamond area, it is easily presumable that the military equipment parachuted into that province was designed to supply the UNITA puppet groups with enough material to carry out operations with the objective of destroying the main diamond mines, thus interrupting the production of this precious stone, which is the second source of foreign exchange for our country.

23. If we add to this the attempted incursion in the Malongo oil area—oil being the first source of foreign exchange for our country—we can infer that all these acts of aggression on the part of the Pretoria racist régime have as their sole objective the suffocation of the economic development of our young People's Republic in order to further Pretoria's plan to create a so-called constellation of southern African States in which the countries of the region would be dependent on the economic and military power of South Africa.

24. Pretoria's strategy to suffocate our economy having proved impossible, the racist Government resumed the same forms of aggression it had used earlier against Angola. Specifically, since the beginning of June there has been a sudden increase in South African air reconnaissance operations against the Angolan troops deployed in the southern part of our country, deep inside the territory of Angola, 300 kilometres away from our border with Namibia, which Territory is illegally occupied by South Africa as well.

25. From 31 May to 10 June alone, 22 violations of our airspace have been recorded, involving a total of 26 airplanes. In addition to those violations, there has been an unusual movement of South African forces, unseen since the last big invasion of our country in December 1983.

26. The South African racist army at present has a contingent of troops deployed along our border, estimated at 4 motorized brigades and 15 battalions, making a total of

20,000 men, which, supported by the estimated 80 to 90 planes and helicopters of the South African Air Force standing at the air bases of Ondangua, Oshakati and Ruacaná, may at any moment launch a new invasion into the People's Republic of Angola.

27. The international community is also aware of the deep embarrassment of South Africa's friends and allies over the attempted destruction of the Malongo oil installation. We can, at least, be thankful for all the voices that have been raised against that aborted action.

28. On our part, despite the losses and destruction suffered by Angola over the past 10 years, we remain committed to the re-establishment of peace and coexistence in southern Africa. Angola will not stop giving its support to SWAPO and the freedom fighters of the people of Namibia and South Africa. We consider ourselves in duty bound to do so, since Angola is part of the United Nations. The official Angolan position on all outstanding issues is contained in the global platform presented to the United Nations by the Head of State of my country, Comrade José Eduardo dos Santos, in November 1984 [S/16838]. The People's Republic of Angola is prepared to implement that part of the negotiated plan that concerns us as soon as the four points referred to already here in the Council are fulfilled.

29. Despite South Africa's publicity campaign about its troop withdrawal, its presence in Angola is still very much alive, not only through its defence forces and surveillance groups, as General Viljoen himself admitted, but also through forces of its notorious Buffalo Battalion, operating in the province of Cunene in close connection with UNITA's puppet group in the southern part of Angola.

30. This means that while South African troops have attacked Angola repeatedly since August 1975, prior to the proclamation of Angolan independence, they have been in continuous occupation of parts of Angolan territory since 1981 for reasons that are backed not by facts but by fiction—a fiction produced in the warped minds of the men who rule South Africa as a slave State in which the 22-million majority inhabitants are disenfranchised and have no protection from the violation of their human, civil, political and economic rights. In this connection, the people of Angola would like to express their appreciation to all those who have been engaged in the recent moves for disinvestment in South Africa. However, we all hope that what is legally taken away through one channel will not then be replaced illegally through another.

31. Finally, I would like to thank all those friends and allies who have always supported Angola in its search for a just peace in southern Africa, a peace which would allow all to live in dignity and mutual respect, based on the non-violability of international borders, on the non-violability of the sovereignty of independent States and on the non-violability of the inalienable rights of peoples, based on all the rights, duties and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to whose implementation we are all committed as Members of the Organization.
A luta continua!

32. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): For eight days and 12 successive meetings, the Council has been convened under the presidency of your delegation, Sir, in the person of the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of your country and now yourself, to consider complaints against South Africa.

33. Until last evening, the Council was seized of the question of Namibia, involving the unrelenting travail of the people of Namibia struggling against the illegal and oppressive racist régime of South Africa. Now, we turn our attention to the renewed aggression by the same régime against the People's Republic of Angola. Tomorrow, we shall be confronted with the complaint that Botswana has brought before the Council, yet again against South Africa. It would indeed be an interesting study to find out how much of the Council's time and energy have, since its inception, been spent in dealing with instances of South African aggression and belligerence and its persistent defiance of the will of the international community.

34. We take comfort in the thought, Mr. President, that, as we deal with these new, urgent and grave issues we will continue to benefit from your own personal diplomatic skills, impartiality and wisdom, as indeed we have benefited from the infinite patience, quiet dignity and great wisdom your Foreign Minister has demonstrated over the last long days in presiding over the Council as it struggled with the question of Namibia.

35. The Council was last seized of an Angolan complaint against South Africa in January 1984, in the wake of another massive South African invasion of its territory. It will be recalled that the new escalation of South African aggression against Angola in the dawn of that new year came, in characteristic fashion, even before the ink was dry on Security Council resolution 545 (1983) adopted only days before, on 20 December. That resolution had strongly condemned South Africa's continued military occupation of parts of southern Angola and demanded that South Africa unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its occupation forces from the territory of Angola and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. South Africa, with its customary arrogance, responded with a full-scale offensive.

36. On 6 January 1984, the Council adopted resolution 546 (1984), which once again strongly condemned South Africa for its renewed, intensified, premeditated and unprovoked bombing, as well as for the continued occupation of parts of the territory of Angola, as a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and a serious endangerment of international peace and security. The resolution again demanded that Pretoria immediately cease all acts of aggression and unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its military forces occupying Angolan territory. It reaffirmed Angola's right, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular Article 51, to take all measures necessary to defend itself, and it renewed its request to Member States to extend all necessary assistance to Angola in order to enable it to defend itself against South Africa's escalating military attacks and its continuing occupation of parts of Angola.

37. Subsequent events are well known. Over the last year and a half, South Africa has been engaged in an elaborate attempt to hoodwink the international community by professing to seek to live in peace with its neighbours while at the same time losing no opportunity to threaten and intimidate them and to carry out further acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against them. In spite of the unrelenting pressure against the People's Republic of Angola—indeed, the people of Angola have known no peace since independence—the Government of that country has demonstrated good will and political and diplomatic flexibility. Its spirit of statesmanship and accommodation, however, has been met with further deceit and bad faith on the part of Pretoria.

38. Last week [2586th meeting], when the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola addressed the Council, he gave us full details of the continuing instances of infringement upon Angolan territory and airspace, the latest of which is the dastardly military attack against the Malongo oil complex in Cabinda Province. In his address to the Council today, he further elaborated on those details and presented us with all the facts relating to the latest military action. After South Africa's claim to have withdrawn totally from Angola, the discovery of a South African commando unit engaged in a criminal act of sabotage in Cabinda, about 2,000 kilometres deep inside Angolan territory, has only provided further evidence of Pretoria's duplicity. These acts of aggression, in clear violation of the Charter and the resolutions of the Council, cannot but cause profound concern, and they call for the strongest possible condemnation by the Council.

39. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, had

"strongly condemned the continued military occupation of part of Angolan territory by the South African racist troops in violation of the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola" [S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 62]

and had

"considered the occupation of Angolan territory as an act of aggression against the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries" [*ibid.*].

We strongly condemn the continuing aggression against Angola, the latest instance of which is the military attack in Cabinda. We reaffirm Angola's right to take all necessary measures to protect and preserve its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and we reiterate the pledge of solidarity and full support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries towards that end. We firmly endorse Angola's right to adequate redress and compensation for the enormous economic and other losses it has suffered on account of South Africa's aggression.

40. If so much of the Council's time and effort is taken up in dealing with the recalcitrant and arrogant régime in

Pretoria, the fault must lie partly with the Council itself, and more so with those in the Council who seem to look upon the *apartheid* régime with a benevolent eye and who are willing to condone its conduct. South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its continuing acts of aggression against neighbouring States, and all else that has brought infamy to the racist régime will come back again and again to haunt the Council until it is able to act with greater collective resolve.

41. We continue to hope—and we have said this times without number—that the Council will act before it is too late and take firm measures against South Africa as provided for by the Charter.

42. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

43. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): Speaking before the Council last week [2583rd meeting], Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country stated how happy our delegation was to see you presiding over the Council at a time when it was considering issues of such importance to our continent. Allow me to reiterate those sentiments now and to express our highest appreciation for the exemplary manner in which you handled the debate which was recently concluded.

44. Once again the People's Republic of Angola finds itself compelled to bring to the attention of the Council the question of the continuing aggression against it and the occupation of parts of its territory by the murderous forces of the racist Pretoria régime. Resolution 546 (1984), which demanded that South Africa should cease immediately all bombing and other acts of aggression and unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its military forces occupying Angolan territory as well as undertake scrupulously to respect the sovereignty, airspace, territorial integrity and independence of Angola, remains unimplemented. Aggression continues, and there are reports that the régime is massing its troops along Angola's southern border in preparation for a fourth full-scale invasion.

45. The Council, therefore, is called upon to consider aggression—an illegal act which contravenes international law and violates the Charter of the United Nations. Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter requires all States to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State and from acting in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. As a corollary to this, the Council is also called to consider the implications for international peace and security of the racist régime's non-compliance with its resolutions.

46. South Africa has imposed a war on Angola and other neighbouring States. Generally in its aggressive schemes the *apartheid* régime has sought to achieve its grand design against its neighbours through a combination of political manipulation and military force. It has embarked on acts of destabilization, sabotage and assassination. It has set up dissident groups and trained, financed and armed their

operations against the legitimate Governments of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Seychelles and Zimbabwe. To complement those evil acts it has used direct military aggression against those countries. The invasion of Angola of 1975, the infamous Cassinga massacre of 1978, the June 1980 invasion code-named Operation Smoke-shell, the equally infamous Operation Protea of August 1981, the invasion of December 1983 and countless bombing raids against various towns and cities in Angola and other countries are all part of this strategy.

47. The objectives that the régime intends to achieve through this combination of tactics are clear. First, as a primary objective, it seeks to topple the legitimate Governments of its neighbours and replace them with bantustans in which the régime can establish political structures less hostile to *apartheid*, if not sympathetic to it. This the régime has failed to achieve, and will fail to achieve. As a second objective, in the event of failure to topple those Governments—as has been the case—the régime intends to intimidate, sabotage and destabilize those countries into silent compliance with or submission to unequal treaty or political arrangements which only seek to minimize the opposition to *apartheid* and, in the worst circumstances, to bolster it.

48. In the case of the aggressive designs against the People's Republic of Angola, Namibia adds another dimension to the ambitions of the racist régime. Through the unabating aggression against Angola, the *apartheid* régime intends to prevent Namibia's independence as long as possible. In sum, therefore, whether in Angola or any other neighbour of *apartheid* South Africa, the objective of the Pretoria régime has been the same, namely, to neutralize opposition to *apartheid*. It follows therefore, as has indeed been adequately demonstrated, that any so-called overtures of peace by that régime are nothing more than orchestrated campaigns calculated to hoodwink the world.

49. The announcement of a false withdrawal from Angola only to result in other military incursions deep into Angolan territory serves to illustrate the duplicity and bad faith of the *apartheid* régime. Equally, the unprovoked murderous attack against the Republic of Botswana on the morning of 14 June, resulting in the death of 12 innocent South African refugees and Botswana citizens, as well as many wounded, further points to the fact that, irrespective of that régime's pronouncement, its objectives remain unchanged. It is equally clear that the Maseru raid and the incessant acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland are all intended to achieve the same objective.

50. That the *apartheid* régime has attacked and will continue to attack and generally seek to destabilize and aggress neighbouring independent States because of their opposition to *apartheid* is not unexpected. But it is unexpected that, in its campaign to commit those senseless and dastardly acts, the régime should find solace and support from some States Members of the Organization. Angola has been aggressed, but in its desire to seek peace it has been prepared to concede to unwarranted demands. Thus

the inevitable conclusion that can be drawn from Pretoria's policy of incessant aggression against its neighbours is that that régime has never been interested in creating the conditions conducive to peace and stability in the region—for that is the nature of *apartheid*.

51. The familiar ridiculous assertions of the *apartheid* régime that its occupation of parts of Angolan territory is for the protection of Namibian citizens from SWAPO are totally unacceptable and extremely offensive to Africa. The Council must reject any attempt to justify those criminal acts against Angola. They constitute a violation of the Charter and of international law. Besides, Angola, which shares no common border with South Africa, poses no threat to that régime. Cabinda is 2,550 kilometres from the South African/Namibian border and 1,350 kilometres from the Cunene River, the Angolan/Namibian border. How can it be explained that oil installations that far removed from *apartheid* South Africa pose a threat to its security? Moreover, it is a fact that, while the racist forces have been carrying out countless air and ground attacks against Angola, maiming and killing innocent defenceless civilians and committing acts of sabotage against vital economic installations and infrastructure, Angolan soldiers have been concerned only with the defence of their motherland. The racist régime has sought to claim that its criminal attacks against Angola were undertaken in hot pursuit of SWAPO freedom fighters operating from Angola's southern border. Unacceptable as that assertion is, was the military operation in Cabinda also in hot pursuit of SWAPO combatants?

52. It is a matter of profound regret that Angola should be asked to make concessions to an aggressor. Even more regrettable is that a responsible member of the Council should be participating in squeezing concessions out of the victim of aggression instead of upholding the principles of the Charter and opposing aggression. This latest manifestation of duplicity and bad faith on the part of that régime has served to illustrate its now quite familiar double-track strategy of falsely talking about peace and infiltrating army units and preparing increased aggression.

53. The *apartheid* régime's bogus announcement of disengagement of its murderous forces should deceive no one. Accordingly, we join the People's Republic of Angola in demanding the Council's strong condemnation of the *apartheid* régime and that it require it unconditionally to cease hostile acts forthwith. Moreover, in view of the massive losses of human lives and property caused by the incessant acts of aggression, the Council must require the *apartheid* régime to pay full compensation to Angola.

54. But it is no coincidence that the current spate of renewed acts of aggression by the *apartheid* régime come in the wake of frantic efforts by the proponents of "constructive engagement" to pamper and massage the ego of the racist régime. For how can it be explained that, despite being a party to the Lusaka understanding on the withdrawal of the *apartheid* occupation forces—an understanding which the régime has violated—those proponents of "constructive engagement" still find it appropriate to seek repeal of the Clark amendment?

55. The Symm amendment is not only a direct attempt to complement the sustenance of aggression but also a clear signal that there exists, in a way, a mutuality of interest with South Africa as far as the destabilization of and aggression against Angola's sovereignty is concerned. Indeed, any action that does not directly censure the aggressive *apartheid* régime and conform to action against it is directly against upholding Angola's sovereign rights. Africa rejects and condemns the renewed attempts to topple the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

56. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 17 November 1984 [S/16838], the President of the People's Republic of Angola outlined the elements of a political platform presented by his Government. The platform embodies a political commitment by Angola to the elaboration of a comprehensive political framework which would bring about the requisite conditions for assurances. As pointed out in that letter, the proposal is proof of Angola's willingness to seek peace. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has firmly supported Angola's position not to accept an arrangement which is inconsistent with elements of that political platform or which does not respond to all the issues related to the speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978), to the cessation of aggression by the *apartheid* régime and to the cessation of support by the *apartheid* régime of the UNITA puppets. Consistent with that position, the OAU has repeatedly reaffirmed its full support for the measures taken by the Angolan Government in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter to guarantee and safeguard its territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

57. It is a sad commentary on history that this year, when most of the world is commemorating the defeat of fascism in Europe, racist supremacy of the utmost Fascist kind is running roughshod over southern Africa and the African is asked to be patient, to be tolerant and to wait while most of the very Powers that bravely fought fascism in Europe are feeding and strengthening the economic and political machinery of *apartheid* South Africa. Hundreds of thousands of Africans and other third-world peoples paid heavily for the defeat of fascism in Europe and other areas. The price paid notwithstanding, the African demands that nascent fascism and *apartheid* be dealt with directly, forcefully and universally, as was done in Europe. Munich must not be repeated. Appeasement can only light the flames of a holocaust.

58. Angola has come before the Council to seek justice. We ask the Council to act firmly to put an end to South African aggression against its neighbours. Procrastination or vacillation by the Council in acting in the interest of peace and security would be a tragic abdication of its responsibility.

59. Finally, I take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all those States which have taken steps to express indignation and to deplore the acts of aggression committed by the *apartheid* régime. We hope, as I have stated, that more resolute and decisive measures will be adopted.

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Liberia, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. KOFA (Liberia): I have already had the opportunity during this month, Sir, to express my delegation's congratulations concerning your assumption of the presidency of the Council and our confidence in your ability to conduct the affairs of the Council. I simply cannot fail at this time to register my appreciation to you and to the other members of the Council for allowing me to make a statement in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States on the matter now before this body.

62. The Council is obliged to meet again to consider the latest military operation by the racist South African régime, which occurred last month when notorious individuals, who were members of South African commando units, were discovered by the Angolan People's Army in the province of Cabinda as they were preparing to destroy an oil complex in that province. Along with that abortive raid, we have witnessed in recent months an escalation of South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. A South African cargo aircraft penetrated into Angolan territory, in violation of its airspace, and unloaded 80 tons of military *matériel* intended for use by its puppet group, UNITA, to which the operation would have been attributed had it had been successful. Since then, there has been an increase in reconnaissance flights by the South African Air Force inside Angolan territory.

63. The commando units failed to accomplish their vicious and criminal plan, which would have not only caused heavy material damage but also resulted in the loss of human lives. The purpose of that clandestine operation was to discredit the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola and to have the international community perceive UNITA as a viable party in the search for peace in southern Africa.

64. Angola discovered that the purported withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola was a cynical diversionary tactic designed to dupe Angola into believing that there were no longer South African troops in its territory. But, to no one's surprise, South African commando units were, in fact, still in Angola with the intention of destroying that country's economic infrastructure.

65. The lack of sincerity on the part of the racist régime of Pretoria regarding the search for a genuine peace in the region is increasingly manifest. South Africa continues to use the Territory of Namibia as a military base from which to launch armed aggression against neighbouring States in order to force them to desist from supporting the campaign against *apartheid* and the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence.

66. The member States of the African Group view the present deteriorating situation in southern Africa as a gross violation of the territorial integrity of Angola and

deplore South Africa's intensification and constant escalation of tension and military intimidation in the region and, in particular, its arrogating to itself the right to transgress the borders of the front-line States to commit acts of destabilization with impunity. We reject and condemn the unprovoked manoeuvres not only as a violation of the principles of international law regarding respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States but also as an affront to the spirit and letter of the Lusaka accord of 16 February 1984, under which Pretoria was supposed to have withdrawn its troops from Angola by March of that year.

67. In this respect, we request the Council to take strong action in response to South Africa's act of aggression, which exposes Pretoria's duplicity and bad faith. The Council should also call upon the international community to give, as a matter of urgency, maximum political and moral support, including economic and military assistance, to the front-line States to enable them to exercise their right to self-defence against South Africa and to support the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference with a view to reducing the economic dependence of those countries on the racist régime.

68. The time has come for the Council to take decisions that will reflect, through the application of Chapter VII of the Charter, its resolve to exert maximum pressure on the South African régime and to compel it to comply with the principles of international law. The Council has a duty to contribute to a peaceful resolution of the worsening situation in southern Africa so that the peoples of Angola, Namibia and the front-line States can live in peace and build their future on the basis of their own options.

69. Mr. HUANG Jiahua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Having just finished its consideration of the question of Namibia, the Council is now beginning its consideration of the situation in Angola and Botswana, which once again proves that the South African régime remains the root of the trouble in southern Africa.

70. While carrying out a barbarous policy of *apartheid* at home, the South African authorities continue their illegal occupation of Namibia and repeatedly perpetrate frenzied armed provocations and invasions against Angola, Botswana and Mozambique, upsetting the tranquillity of the whole of southern Africa and seriously threatening international peace and security. The atrocities of the South African authorities cannot fail to arouse the strong indignation and unanimous condemnation of world public opinion.

71. A short time ago we heard the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, in which he exposed with irrefutable facts the acts of aggression committed by the South African authorities. He repudiated the lies concocted by South Africa and pointed out the danger to peace and security in southern Africa and the world as a whole posed by the actions of the South African authorities.

72. In fact, since Angola's independence the South African authorities have never ceased their acts of aggression and sabotage against Angola. In August 1981, South African troops flagrantly launched a massive invasion of Angola and occupied by force a large area of territory in the southern part of that country, causing enormous loss of life and property and grossly violating Angola's national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

73. In February last year, faced with resolute opposition by the Angolan Government, and under strong pressure from the world community, the South African authorities were forced to sign the Lusaka understanding with Angola, promising a total troop withdrawal from Angola within months. However, it was not until April this year that they formally announced the troop withdrawal, and in fact they have not completely pulled their troops out of Angola.

74. Furthermore, less than a month after that announcement the South African authorities again dispatched commandos, who penetrated into Cabinda, northern Angola, to carry out harassment and sabotage. South Africa has recently been massing troops on the Namibian border in preparation for a new invasion of Angola.

75. All the above facts make it clear that not only have the South African authorities gone back on their commitment but they have accelerated their intensified acts of aggression, displaying no good will at all in favour of a negotiated solution to the issue of southern Africa.

76. The international community has repeatedly condemned South Africa's flagrant criminal acts of aggression against Angola, which constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. The Council has adopted a number of resolutions to that effect, calling on South Africa immediately to put an end to its acts of aggression. However, the South African authorities have turned a deaf ear to the just voice of the world community and have totally ignored Council resolutions. On the contrary, they have intensified their acts of aggression against Angola—something about which the Council cannot fail to express its grave concern.

77. The Chinese delegation considers that the Council is duty-bound once again sternly to condemn the repeated acts of aggression, subversion and sabotage carried out by the South African authorities against Angola; solemnly to warn South Africa that it should immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Angolan territory and immediately cease all its acts of aggression and sabotage against Angola; and to appeal to the world community to give the Angolan Government and people moral and material support.

78. If the South African authorities continue to refuse to implement the Security Council's resolutions, the Council should, in keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter, adopt effective measures to force the South African authorities to change their intransigent attitude and stop their acts of aggression.

79. The Chinese Government and people express their strong indignation over, and stern condemnation of, the South African authorities' acts of aggression and sabotage against Angola, and will continue, as always, resolutely to support the Angolan Government and people in their just struggle to defend their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

80. Mr. GRUNNET (Denmark): Since Denmark has already commented on the events in Cabinda during the Council's debate on the situation in Namibia, I shall be very brief. However, I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the Danish position and to make it quite clear to South Africa.

81. There is no excuse for South Africa's action in Cabinda, and the South African explanation totally lacks credibility. Even the captured South African captain from the Special Forces openly admitted that his mission in Cabinda was one of sabotage and of continued destabilization of Angola. Thus the international community has witnessed yet another blatant and arrogant violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

82. Not least in this perspective, the reports about a renewed concentration of a considerable number of South African troops in northern Namibia along Angola's southern border must give rise to the most serious concern. All of us remember all too vividly South Africa's earlier attacks on Angola and the delayed withdrawal of South African troops in spite of a firm commitment to that end.

83. The Council must in no uncertain terms condemn South Africa's continued aggression against Angola and do its utmost to discourage any future violation by South Africa of Angola's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

84. Even South Africa must by now find it increasingly difficult to dispute that its conduct not only threatens stability in the region but has wider implications for international peace and security.

85. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Asian States for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

86. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Mr. President, I have had the privilege of addressing the Council on an earlier occasion under the presidency of your distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs. I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for this opportunity to address the Council once again.

87. May I express deep appreciation of the manner in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago has guided the work of the Council this month, making available to it his dynamic leadership and rich experience as a diplomat and statesman and enabling it to

subject thorny issues to constructive and fruitful debate. Speaking on behalf of my own Government, as well as in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Asian States for the month of June, I express our full trust and confidence in your ability, Mr. President, to guide the Council towards taking appropriate action against South Africa for its series of recent aggressive actions against neighbouring States.

88. According to direct evidence offered by a captured South African commando leader, the South African Special Forces began planning the raid in the northern province of Cabinda in January of this year in order to cause what he called a considerable economic setback to the Angolan Government. His men, he said, had been sent to place mines at the American Gulf Oil depot, with the aim of destroying the storage tank. His statement belies the official South African claim that its soldiers were looking for members of SWAPO and the ANC—as if that version, if true, could lend legality to its illegal aggressive action.

89. These developments, which are closely linked with South Africa's aggressive actions in Botswana and its political games in Namibia, fully justify the present complaint by the Government of Angola, which has a clear perception of the threat to regional and international peace and security from the continuous acts of aggression and violence by the South African armed forces and the resulting violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola. Indeed, the representative of Botswana has already sought an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the serious situation resulting from South Africa's military attacks of 14 June on the capital of his country [S/17279].

90. It is a matter of profound concern to the Security Council and the international community at large that South Africa can continue to indulge with impunity in illegal acts inside South Africa and wanton aggression against its sovereign neighbours, threatening both regional and international peace and security.

91. Only a week ago [2586th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola apprised the Council of the escalation of aggressive acts against his country by the South African régime. In a detailed exposition of South Africa's acts of aggression against Angola, he described how, since January 1985, the South African military machine had been planning Operation Argon, aimed at destroying the Malongo oil complex in Cabinda Province. The Council heard, in this connection, the horrifying details of the use by South Africa of its Special Forces to carry out a deliberate act of sabotage deep inside Angolan territory. The Minister also cited incidents of violation of Angolan airspace by South African aircraft, stating that after the Cabinda sabotage attempt, the South African régime had increased its reconnaissance flights over Angolan territory, penetrating more than 200 kilometres inside that country.

92. In a statement before the Council today, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola drew the attention of the

Council once again to South Africa's aggressive activities and violations of Angola's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. His statement has made the Council aware of the magnitude of the political and economic damage to Angola and the crippling consequences of South African incursions in Cabinda Province that would have occurred if the South African commando forces had been able to carry out a successful operation.

93. Two days before the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola made his first statement, the Council heard a statement made by the representative of the South African régime casting aspersions on the legitimacy of the Angolan Government and calling for exercise of the right of self-determination by the Angolan people. The South African representative then proceeded to justify the abortive Cabinda raid as being necessitated by the need "to gather intelligence on the activities of the ANC and SWAPO terrorists in Angola and to consider appropriate counteractions" [2583rd meeting, para. 230].

94. The South African régime stands condemned before the Council by its own revealing statements, which flout the important and inviolable principle of international law and conduct embodied in Article 2 of Chapter I of the Charter of the United Nations. Article 2, paragraph 4, states that:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

95. The Council has been seized of the question of South Africa's aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Angola since the very independence of that country in 1975. The Council has adopted several resolutions that have condemned South Africa for its premeditated, persistent and sustained acts of aggression against Angola. It has repeatedly called upon South Africa immediately to cease these hostile activities against its neighbour. The only response from South Africa has been one of total defiance and rejection of the decisions of the Council.

96. The South African régime must not be allowed to destroy the credibility of the Council by its defiant actions and lawless behaviour inside and outside its territory. South Africa must be made to refrain from pursuing policies and objectives that strike at the very root of the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter.

97. The overwhelming majority of the deprived citizens of South Africa itself, as well as the people of the neighbouring States which are victims of South African aggression, are entitled to conditions of peace and stability in the region and the opportunity to achieve peaceful progress, which immunity from South African interference and freedom from fear of South African aggression can provide.

98. It is the Council's responsibility to adopt the necessary measures to ensure conditions in which the States of

the region neighbouring on South Africa may live in peace and be able to devote their energies to building their economies and promoting the well-being of their peoples, rather than spending their meagre resources in bolstering their defences against the ever-present threat of South African aggression.

99. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): It is a damning indictment of the Government of South Africa that the Council has been called into session to deal consecutively with South Africa's unacceptable policies and actions in Namibia, Angola and Botswana.

100. We have just had an exhaustive debate on the situation in Namibia, arising out of South Africa's refusal to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence and its determination to proceed with the installation of a so-called interim government. During that debate, many delegations, including my own, condemned South Africa's policies of regional destabilization, its actions in southern Angola, its linkage of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and its most recent raid into Cabinda.

101. We heard also in the statement of the South African representative on 10 June an apologia for South Africa's policies. This amounted to an arrogation by South Africa of the right to intervene at will, through the exercise of military superiority, in the affairs of neighbouring States, presumably in an attempt to force them to pursue policies acceptable to South Africa.

102. Such policies are indefensible in international law. They are also futile, because they are likely to be unproductive in the long term. The disregard shown by South Africa for the independence of its neighbours is, sadly, all too consistent with the attitude it has displayed since 1978 towards the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

103. Many of the issues which are relevant to our present debate have been extensively discussed over the last 10 days, and I shall not dwell on them at length. But brevity should not be interpreted as a lack of concern for the gravity of South Africa's actions. We listened with close attention and sympathy to the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola this morning. We share his concerns. We consider South Africa's actions pose grave and unacceptable risks to peace in the region. Let there be no doubt about Australia's attitude to these actions. We condemn them unreservedly.

104. My delegation welcomed the negotiations involving Angola, South Africa and the United States aimed at securing the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola. We believed that this could contribute to the improvement of regional relations, restore stability to the hard-pressed civilian population of southern Angola and contribute to a climate of confidence in which the negotiations for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia could proceed.

105. We accepted at face value South Africa's assurances on 17 April that it had withdrawn its troops from Angola. We were in fact deceived. One month later, we and the rest of the international community were presented with irrefutable evidence of South Africa's continued military actions in Angola after the interception by Angolan troops of a South African force in Cabinda. The explosive devices found with the South African troops suggest that their incursion was for much more sinister purposes than intelligence gathering—as South Africa claims—and is consistent with an intention of sabotaging oil installations.

106. We have never accepted that South African forces had a right to be in southern Angola, and we welcomed their reported withdrawal. We certainly do not accept that South Africa has a right to dispatch or station forces anywhere else on Angolan territory without the consent of the Angolan Government.

107. In addressing this matter before the Council today there is, it seems to us, only one correct and just conclusion: South Africa's actions in Cabinda were illegal, in violation of the Charter and in violation of international law. They deserve the condemnation of the international community.

108. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Council once again—and indeed for the umpteenth time—is considering the question of aggressive actions by the racist régime of South Africa against a sovereign independent State, the People's Republic of Angola. Now the Council is discussing another act of aggression by the Pretoria régime against Angola, namely, the sending in May of this year of a commando group from the South African Army into the Angolan province of Cabinda to destroy the oil installations there. This bold-faced act of sabotage is far from being a chance occurrence or an isolated act by the régime in Pretoria. On the contrary, it is part of the policy of aggression that racist régime has constantly been pursuing against the People's Republic of Angola, beginning from the time when that country won its independence in 1975.

109. Ten years of independence for Angola have meant 10 years of repelling South African aggression. These aggressive acts by the Pretoria régime have taken various forms, but they have not halted for a single minute. There was the invasion and the occupation of the territory, the bombing of towns, the dropping of military commando parachutist units, the use of the terrorist bands of UNITA—the henchmen of the racist régime of Pretoria—and, finally, the sending out of the military commando groups.

110. If anybody in the West recently tried to create the impression that the racist régime of South Africa had stopped being an aggressor because it supposedly had withdrawn its troops from Angola and started negotiations, then these recent actions by Pretoria—the continuing occupation of Angolan territory and the invasion of northern Angola and Botswana—have completely unmasked this falsehood and once again exposed the aggres-

sive nature of racist South Africa. As we can see, racism and aggression go hand in hand.

111. This armed aggression by Pretoria against Angola, Botswana and other African States is a serious and a growing threat to the peoples of southern Africa, and also to the peace and security of States not only in that region but beyond it.

112. The provocative conduct of the South African régime, which took the form of attacks against neighbouring countries at a time when the question of Namibia was being taken up in the Security Council, and the challenging statements made by the South African representative at Council meetings are the result of the support and patronage given the South African racists by individual Western countries, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom. They are the result of the alliance between the South African racists and the authors of the policy of so-called constructive engagement. Statements by those Western Powers of purported regret at South Africa's aggressive actions do not mislead anyone, because there is absolutely no proof, no proof whatsoever, of the willingness of those Western Powers to take effective action to curb the aggressor or to halt its bandit-like raids into neighbouring independent countries.

113. Members of the Council saw this in action just two days ago when the non-aligned countries members of the Council submitted proposals calling for the application of sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. Not only did the Western Powers not support those proposals, they even threatened to veto them and were thus able to make the provisions for sanctions in the resolution as weak as possible. In so doing, they were coming out in defence of the racist aggressor. That is the true policy of the Western Powers with respect to the Pretoria régime, on the one hand, and to the other African States, on the other.

114. On many occasions in the past few years—indeed, on no less than five occasions—the Council has condemned South Africa for its occupation of Angolan territory and for its premeditated and repeated acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The Council has described those actions by Pretoria as a serious threat to international peace and security. It has called upon South Africa to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and has warned South Africa that in the event of further attacks on Angola the Council would once again prepare to consider the question of taking more effective measures, including those provided under Chapter VII of the Charter.

115. The Council is now faced with the fact of another violation by South Africa of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, another act of aggression by South Africa against that country.

116. In our view, the Council should, in extremely strong terms, condemn South Africa and, at last, adopt measures that would force the racist régime to halt its outrages

against neighbouring African States. In this connection, we support the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Council on the question we are now considering [S/17286]. We support it because it strongly condemns South Africa for its recent act of aggression against the territory of Angola in the Province of Cabinda, as well as for its renewed premeditated acts of aggression, which constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and seriously endanger international peace and security. We support the demands in the draft resolution that South Africa should unconditionally withdraw forthwith all its occupation forces from the territory of Angola, cease all acts of aggression against that State and scrupulously respect the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

117. The People's Republic of Angola, which is in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism, is entitled, like other independent African countries, to be able to rely on the Security Council to discharge the duties incumbent upon it under the Charter and come out in defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, thereby contributing to the maintenance of international peace and security in southern Africa.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

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